49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

Kingdom's total population, had 58.9% of the total households with two family units and 63.2% of the households with three or more family units.

The Report does not distinguish whether households with several families have come about as a result of grandparents, son and wife, and grandchildren living in the same household, or as a result of brothers and their wives sharing one household. It is also unclear how the local census officers demarcated dwelling units clustered together and coopefating as the one single household. In many parts of Tonga there is a precedent in custom for three or even four generations of the same kin-group to live within the same *'api*, the family unit of the oldest son occupying the main dwelling with other units (parents and unmarried siblings; families of married siblings) having separate dwellings around. Because of the traditional brother-sister *tapu* there may be an additional hut for unmarried sons. There is less precedent in Tongan custom for two or more family units of the same generation (e.g. siblings, their spouses and children) to live within the one dwelling: this could be a criterion of overcrowding.

It seems from the census figure of 16% ("households" with more than one family unit) that overcrowding is not yet severe in Tonga except in Nuku'alofa. Here families of siblings are sharing dwellings, and huts are being built on swamp land. Elsewhere, the occurrence of households containing more than one family unit may be accounted for as the persistence of the traditional co-resident extended family, comprising several generations where each "extra" family unit may have its own separate dwelling house which may or may not have been recorded in the census schedule as a household. The increase in average household size has been accompanied by a fall in average overall acreage of land per household from 15.08 acres per household in 1956, to 10.98 acres in 1966.

* * *

The population densities already discussed have little meaning except in relation to the availability and utilization of natural, agricultural and human resources. The natural resources of Tonga comprise almost exclusively the soils, reefs and surrounding seas with, in late 1968, an elusive possibility of oil; the agricultural resources comprise almost entirely trees—particularly coconut, banana, breadfruit—and ground crops grown mainly without mechanical aids by slash-and-burn methods. Human resources are discussed at the end of this paper.

Dependence on agricultural produce is enormous; in 1961 and 1964 these products amounted to 98.19% and 96.39% respectively of Tonga's total export earnings with copra (the dried kernel of the coconut) forming the basis of the economy and constituting over 80% of the visible exports throughout the 1960s.[6] Agricultural products are the surpluses and small cash-crops of Tonga's 12,000 or so peasant farmers who are scattered throughout the Kingdom and rent their allotments either from titled nobles or directly from the Government.

6. TONGA, 1960–1967 *passim*. Total exports for 1961 amounted to £T1,374,658; agricultural exports £T1,349,461; non-agricultural exports £T25,197.

/325 cont./
177 totality, but rather with disconnected, single culture traits and complexes, much has remained unchanged which /326/ could probably have been altered had the Tongans had a more intimate relationship with the life style of the whites.

177 An inhibiting effect on the pace of "Europeanization" of this
181 Archipelago was also the nature of the Tongans. They proved to be self-assured, imperturbable, even-tempered, indifferent and conservative toward many innovations--despite the fact that they were also open-minded. One cannot say that they copied Europeanism blindly; rather, they were often critical and selective. In many areas of their culture they had no interest in, or need for, a fundamental change, (55)

55. For example, means of subsistence (that is, planting, animal husbandry, basic diet), style of living, kinship and community system, customs connected with stages of life.

and, thanks to their dispostion and attitude, they did not come to depend very much on whites, but retained their practical abilities with which to master their environment. (56)

56. Planting, fishing, house-building, boat-building.

[153] Mentally they proved scarcely suitable as workers for larger European enterprises.

177 Unfavorable geographical conditions likewise impeded a more
13 extensive cultural change. Fundamental, restricting factors are the relatively isolated location of these islands and their comparatively small land areas which contain no enticing riches for whites. The soil, the climate and a certain water shortage were not favorable for various cultivated plants that were introduced; some planting methods of Europeans are not feasible here, and a more extensive raising of heavy livestock seems to be impossible.

177 As a result of special circumstances, moreover, European
178